

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-02
ORM-02 /077 W

-----089010 110937Z /14

O 110825Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8467
INFO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL ADANA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMCONSUL IZMIR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION NATO
CINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES
USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 5997

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU
SUBJECT: TURKISH DEMARCHE ON RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS'
SUCCESSOR

1. MFA CYPRUS-GREECE DIRGEN TURGUT TULUMEN CALLED IN
POLCOUNS LATE AUGUST 10 TO SET FORTH TURKISH POSITION
REGARDING INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR.
TULUMEN SAID THIS DEMARCHE WOULD HAVE BEEN MADE AT A HIGHER
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LEVEL BUT THAT BOTH FONMIN AND SECGEN WERE OUT OF TOWN.
HE SAID A PARALLEL ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN BY THE TURKISH
CHARGE IN WASHINGTON, AND THAT REPRESENTATIONS WERE ALSO
BEING MADE IN A NUMBER OF OTHER CAPITALS, INCLUDING LONDON
AND BONN.

2. TULUMEN BEGAN BY READING ALOUD EXCERPTS FROM SEC.

CLIFFORD'S PRESS CONFERENCE OF AUGUST 9. POL COUNS SAID HE WAS UNABLE TO COMMENT BECAUSE EMBASSY HAD NOT YET RECEIVED OFFICIAL TEXT (NICOSIA 2086 ARRIVED SHORTLY AFTERWARD) AND DID NOT YET HAVE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE FROM WASHINGTON ON THE SUBJECT OF RECOGNITION. TULUMEN COMMENTED THAT THERE WERE SEVERAL ASPECTS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT WERE BOUND TO IRRITATE HIS MINISTER, BUT HE DID NOT HIMSELF MAKE A PROTEST.

3. TULUMEN THEN SET FORTH FORMALLY WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS A FULLY ENDORSED TURKISH GOVERNMENT POSITION ON THE MAKARIOS SUCCESSOR ISSUE. THE NEW PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AMONG THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WILL NOT BE VALID FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS OR HAVE ANY BINDING EFFECT ON THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, HE SAID. ANY GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER SO ELECTED CAN ONLY REPRESENT THE GREEK COMMUNITY, NOT THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS OR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, AND CANNOT ACT ON BEHALF OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS OR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY. TULUMEN SAID THAT THIS POSITION WAS FULLY SUPPORTED BY BOTH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP AND THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY. CONTINUING, HE SAID THAT THE 1960 CONSTITUTION HAD BEEN CONTINUOUSLY VIOLATED BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AND THAT NONE OF ITS PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD BEEN OBSERVED SINCE DECEMBER, 1963. THUS, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO TALK ABOUT THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS BASED ON THE 1960 CONSTITUTION BUT ONLY ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF TWO AUTONOMOUS STATES IN CYPRUS. CONFIDENTIAL

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IT IS NECESSARY TO AWAIT THE FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS BASED UPON THE CONSENT OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES. WHILE TALKS GO ON REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BIZONAL, BICOMMUNAL STATE, THERE SHOULD BE A TRANSITIONAL MIXED OR JOINT GOVERNMENT AS WAS EARLIER PROPOSED BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. TULUMEN CONCLUDED BY EMPHASIZING THAT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS CAN CONTINUE ONLY ON THE BASIS OF EQUAL STATUS FOR BOTH SIDES.

4. QUESTIONED ABOUT JUST WHAT THE TURKS EXPECTED TO GET IN PRACTICAL TERMS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, TULUMEN REPEATED THAT THE KEY NEED IS EQUAL STATUS FOR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN ITS DEALING WITH THE GREEK COMMUNITY. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WERE DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE THIS EQUALITY, HE SAID, AND ONE OF ITS WAYS OF DOING SO WAS VIA A UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (UDI). THE GOT CONTINUED TO BE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO UDI. HOWEVER, THE GOT NEEDED HELP AND SUPPORT FOR THIS OPPOSITION. HE CAUTIONED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO PUSH DENKTASH TOO FAR, AND HE URGED THAT THE U.S. "DO JUSTICE TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, BECAUSE YOU MAY NEED THEIR HELP." TULUMEN BELIEVED IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR OTHER

COUNTRIES TO BREAK RELATIONS WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS BUT, IN ORDER TO PROVIDE EQUAL INTERNATIONAL STATUS FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY THAT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS NOT ADDRESS THE GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER AS THE PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS AND THAT THEY FIND SOME BETTER TITLE FOR DENKTAFI THAN SIMPLY "HIS EXCELLENCY". IT WOULD BE NECESSARY ALSO THAT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS GIVE EQUAL RECOGNITION TO BOTH COMMUNITIES AT THE U.S. GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL GATHERINGS.

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BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

5. POL COUNS MADE POINT SEVERAL TIMES THAT, SPEAKING ON A PERSONAL BASIS, HE WOULD BE SORRY INDEED IF THE GOT PRESSED THIS CASE STRONGLY BECAUSE IT HAD VIRTUALLY NO CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. AND TURKEY OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS HAD IN EFFECT AGREED TO DISAGREE ON THE ISSUE OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS. HE

POINTED OUT ALSO THAT U.S. POLICY ON RECOGNITION IS DEEPLY
ROOTED AND HAS WORLDWIDE RAMIFICATIONS, AND THAT THE U.S.
COULD NOT NECESSARILY BE EXPECTED TO BASE RECOGNITION ON AN INTER-
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PRETATION OF THE CYPRUS CONSTITUTION. HE OVVERED FRIENDLY
ADVICE THAT THE GOT RECONSIDER BEFORE TAKING ANY FURTHER
ACTION IN SUPPORT OF THIS POSITION.

6. TULUMEN RESPONDED WITH CONSIDERABLE AGITATION THAT THE
DECISION TO TAKE A STRONG STAND HAD ALREADY BEEN TAKEN
AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS. THE GOT WILL PRESS VERY HARD ON THIS
QUESTION, HE SAID, AND IS UNDER STRONG PRESSURE TO DO SO,
"BOTH HERE AND IN NICOSIA". HE ASSERTED THAT THE DEATH OF
MAKARIOS REMOVED THE LAST VESTIGIAL CLAIM TO CONSTITUTIONALITY
HELD BY THE GREEK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION, AND THAT THE TURKISH
SIDE SIMPLY COULD NOT CONTINUE DEALING UNDER CONDITIONS OF
INTERNATIONAL INEQUALITY. DEPENDING ON THE OUTCOME OF THIS
ISSUE, HE PREDICTED, THERE IS A CHANCE EITHER TO MAKE PROGRESS
IN RESOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM OR TO REACH A COMPLETE
DEADLOCK. HE URGED THAT WE MAKE PRODUCTIVE USE OF THE
OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS.

7. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THERE IS REAL POSSIBILITY THAT THE
TURKS WILL OVERCOMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE EFFORT TO SWAY US
AWAY FROM RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR, AND THAT DAMAGE
TO OUR RELATIONS COULD RESULT. ACCORDINGLY, UNLESS THE
DEPARTMENT SEES ANY POSSIBILITY OF ACCOMMODATING TURKISH
DESIRES EVEN IN PART, WE RECOMMEND A CONCERTED EFFORT TO
DISABUSE THE TURKS AT THE OUTSET OF ANY HOPE THAT ANY
PRESSURE THEY MAY APPLY COULD SUCCEED IN CHANGING U.S.
POLICY ON THIS ISSUE. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL ALSO, WE BELIEVE,
TO POINT OUT TO THE TURKS THAT BECAUSE OF THE MAKARIOS
SUCCESSION PROBLEM, THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR INABILITY TO
HOLD INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS NO LONGER RESTS EXCLUSIVELY ON THE
TURKS, BUT IF THE TURKS TAKE THE POSITION THAT THEY CANNOT
ENTER INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS BECAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION
OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR, FULL BLAME FOR BLOCKING NEGOTIATIONS
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WILL REST SQUARELY ON THEM. PENDING RECEIPT OF INSTRUCTIONS,
WE PROPOSE TO MAKE THESE POINTS IN ANY DISCUSSIONS OF THE SUBJECT
THAT MAY ARISE.
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